

## Message Text

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TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 017238 TOSEC 010146

FOL TEL SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO ANKARA ATHENS USNMR SHAPE  
BE USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER USDOCOSOUTH NAPLES IT  
USDOCLDSTHES IZMIR TUR FROM USNATO DTD 21 JAN 1978 QTE

S E C R E T USNATO 00708

SECSTATE PASS TO USDEL SECRETARY'S PARTY.

E.O.11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: NATO, GR, TU, PORG

SUBJECT: COMMENTS ON RECENT GREEK STATEMENTS ON NATO  
RELATIONSHIP

REFS: (A) 77 ATHENS 11345 (DTG 151438Z DEC 77),

(B) ATHENS 266 (DTG 111447Z JAN 78), (C) 77 USNATO 10207

(DTG 212127Z OCT 77)

SUMMARY: WE HAVE NOTED COMMENTS SINCE DECEMBER MINISTERIAL  
BY GREEK OFFICIALS THAT GREEK SIGNING OF US-GREEK DCA IS  
LINKED NOT ONLY TO PROGRESS ON CYPRUS BUT ALSO TO MOVEMENT  
IN THE GREECE-NATO RELATIONSHIP. THE LATTER QUALIFICATION  
IS NEW AND IT ADDS YET ANOTHER LINKAGE IN GREEK-TURKISH  
NATO ISSUES, SINCE THE TURKS HAVE MADE CLEAR THAT THERE WILL  
BE NO PROGRESS ON GREEK REINTEGRATION INTO NATO UNTIL THE  
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US-TURKISH DCA IS PASSED. THE GREEKS HAVE ALSO VOICED COM-  
PLAINTS THAT NATO DOES NOT SEEM INTERESTED OR CONCERNED  
ABOUT RESPONDING TO GREEK PROPOSALS ON THE NATO RELATION-  
SHIP OR EAGER TO SEE GREECE MOVE BACK TOWARD THE ALLIANCE.  
WE BELIEVE WE SHOULD STRESS TO GREECE THAT (A) WE CONTINUE  
TO ATTACH GREAT IMPORTANCE TO REINTEGRATING GREECE INTO  
THE ALLIANCE AND TO IMPROVING THE OVERALL DEFENSE POSTURE

OF THE SOUTHERN FLANK; (B) GREECE MUST ACCEPT SOME OF THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR SLOW PROGRESS IN NATO, SINCE NEITHER TURKEY NOR, IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, THE ALLIANCE CAN BE EXPECTED TO ACCEPT THE GREEK VIEW THAT IT NEEDS A DIFFERENT RELATIONSHIP IN NATO BECAUSE OF FEAR OF TURKISH AGGRESSION; AND (C) GREECE COULD EASE THE SITUATION WITH A UNILATERAL GESTURE. END SUMMARY.

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1. COMMENTS BY AVEROFF AND TZOUNIS (REFS A AND B) THAT GOG SEES CLOSE LINKAGE BETWEEN ITS SIGNATURE OF US-GREEK DCA AND PROGRESS BOTH ON CYPRUS AND RESOLUTION OF GREECE'S RELATIONSHIP TO NATO IS, TO OUR KNOWLEDGE, A RELATIVELY NEW POSITION BY THE GREEKS. IT CREATES AN ADDITIONAL LINKAGE ON CONCLUSION OF THE TWO DCAS, SINCE THE TURKS HAVE TAKEN A CONFLICTING VIEW, I.E., TURKISH PERMREP KIRCA'S COMMENT (REF C) THAT GREEK REINTEGRATION INTO NATO WOULD BE "UNTHINKABLE" UNTIL THE US-TURKISH DCA IS APPROVED.

2. COMMENT: IT WOULD SEEM THAT BOTH GREEKS AND TURKS MUST BE NUDGED AWAY FROM THESE CONFLICTING POSITIONS IF THERE IS TO BE MOVEMENT ON THE DCAS. END COMMENT.

3. GREEKS HAVE ALSO FREQUENTLY OVER PAST FEW MONTHS EXPRESSED IMPATIENCE WITH NATO'S SLOWNESS IN RESPONDING TO GREEK PROPOSALS ON NEW NATO RELATIONSHIP AND ALLEGED LACK OF INTEREST BY NATO IN GREEK REINTEGRATION. (SEE SEPTTEL ON SECRET

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CURRENT STATUS OF GREECE-TURKEY-NATO ISSUES.) WE ENDORSE LINE TAKEN BY EMBASSY ATHENS (PARA 4, REF A) IN RESPONSE TO THESE GREEK COMPLAINTS WHICH, ALTHOUGH THEY MAY REPRESENT ELEMENTS OF REAL FRUSTRATION, ALSO STRIKE US AS DISINGENUOUS. GREEKS ARE AWARE OF WHAT THE HOLD-UP IS IN NATO AND WHY IT HAS COME ABOUT. THEY MAY ALSO BE EMPHASIZING THEIR UNHAPPINESS WITH THE DELAY IN NATO AS COUNTERPOINT TO OUR DESIRE THAT THEY SIGN US-GREEK DCA. IN ANY CASE, ASSUMING THAT AT SOME POINT DEPARTMENT AND EMBASSY MAY DECIDE TO DISCUSS GREEK-NATO ISSUES IN MORE DETAIL WITH GOG, WE SUGGEST FOLLOWING POINTS BE CONSIDERED AS SUPPLEMENT TO THOSE IN PARA 4, REF A:

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--GREECE SHOULD BE IN NO DOUBT OF THE IMPORTANCE NATO, AND THE US, ATTACH TO GREECE'S EVENTUAL FULL REINTEGRATION INTO THE ALLIANCE AND TO RESTORATION OF AN EFFECTIVE, FUNCTIONING NATO DEFENSE POSTURE ON THE SOUTHERN FLANK.

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--WE AGREE THAT NATO HAS BEEN SLOW IN RESPONDING TO GREECE'S DESIRE TO BEGIN DISCUSSIONS ON THE GREECE-NATO RELATIONSHIP AND WE REGRET THIS DELAY.

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--HOWEVER, THE GREEK POSITION, AS EXPRESSED IN PAPER OF JANUARY 27, 1977 HAS CONTRIBUTED TO THE IMPASSE. THE TURKS, FROM THEIR POINT OF VIEW TOOK CONSIDERABLE UMBRAGE AT THE POSITION THAT A NEW GREEK RELATIONSHIP TO NATO MUST BE IMPLEMENTED BECAUSE OF THE THREAT OF AGGRESSION AGAINST GREECE BY TURKEY.

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--WE CAN UNDERSTAND THE REASONS WHY THE GOG STATED THIS POSITION SO FRANKLY IN ITS JANUARY 27 PAPER, ALTHOUGH WE DO NOT, NOR CAN THE ALLIANCE, ACCEPT THE PREMISE.

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--FURTHERMORE, GREEK PUBLIC STATEMENTS, AGAIN UNDERSTAND-  
ABLE IN THE GREEK DOMESTIC CONTEXT, ABOUT WANTING A  
"SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP" WITH THE ALLIANCE HAVE GIVEN RISE  
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TO FEARS BY SOME THAT GREECE WISHES TO RECEIVE THE BENEFITS OF NATO MEMBERSHIP WITHOUT INCURRING THE OBLIGATIONS.

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--WE WILL CONTINUE TO WORK TO IMPROVE THE ATMOSPHERE IN NATO AND HOPE THAT ALL CONCERNED CAN BE FLEXIBLE AND MAKE GESTURES TO EASE, RATHER THAN COMPLICATE, THE SITUATION. FROM THE GREEK SIDE, IT STRIKES US THAT A CLEAR-CUT AND EASILY IMPLEMENTED GESTURE TO SHOW COMMITMENT TO ALLIANCE SOLIDARITY WOULD BE FOR GREECE TO RECOMMENCE SHARING AIR DEFENSE INFORMATION OBTAINED AT ITS NATO AIR DEFENSE ELECTRONIC ENVIRONMENT SYSTEMS (NADEES) SITES WITH NATO. WE UNDERSTAND AND APPRECIATE THAT GREECE HAS LIFTED ITS RESERVATION ON NATO FUNDING OF TURKISH SITES BUT BELIEVE THE LOGICAL CONCLUDING STEP TO RELEASE INFORMATION FROM GREEK SITES AS WELL WOULD BE AN IMPORTANT INITIAL GESTURE. GLITMAN UNQTE CHRISTOPHER

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